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THE NATIONAL PROBLEMS
IN AUSTRIA

BY

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We can easily imagine a state of society, (as conceived by many notable men, especially in the 18th century) when national feelings, so strong at present, should fully give way to a general sentiment of humanity. Though I am myself rather of an international turn of mind, I do not think such a change would signify any progress, at least at the present moment. As we are actually constituted, nationality (together with family) is the source of a great deal of social work, indispensable to the general welfare, most of which is only done for the sake of nationality. If it were possible to take children from their parents in order to educate them in State-Establishments, perhaps on sounder principles than they are educated now, society would lack all the love and care now shown by parents to their progeny; men would not bestow on human beings in general the benefits of which they deprived their offspring, but would cease to provide for anybody but themselves. The same thing would certainly happen if we were to take away from the average man his nationality; the noble exertions he makes for his country would probably cease without any better substitute.

Were the states already what they will become, as we may hope, in some centuries, that is to say, bodies for economical, cultural and national administration, the dismemberment of the existing states, in order to constitute the particles as national homogenous states, would of course present no more difficulties than the separation of a parish from a county and its allotment to another. But unhappily they are still quite a different thing, that is to say centres of military power, and therefore they will not voluntarily give up any portion of their country. As any territorial rearrangement purposing to satisfy national claims could only be settled by war, I am too fervent a pacifist to choose this means if I can find another. Besides that, we may ask whether the great states comprising several nations, as they are at present constituted, do not afford to the races ruled by them, some very remarkable advantages which would be entirely lost if they were broken up. But that is exactly what Mr. Buxton proposes in his very clever essay on nationality, published in the first volume of this "Recueil des Rapports", only with regard however to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Turkey. Hence I may perhaps try to present another solution of the national problems which, being quite in accordance with art. II of the minimum-program, solves the question without warfare; it is already to some degree realised in Austria, and with slight modifications is realisable in any other country.

However, I am not quite sure of having caught Mr. Buxton's argument, which is rather intricate He

asserts that in the matter of nationality in the present war the balance inclines strongly in favour of the quadruple Entente.

In order to demonstrate this striking proposition he supposes that either the Central Powers or the Allies were in position to dictate terms. He means that there are certain nationalities whose situation would quite probably be the same in either case; the Poles, who would certainly get autonomy, the Finns, the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) and the Jews, whose national interests would probably not be affected. There remain the Bohemians, the Alsatians and Lorrainers, the Danes of Schleswig, the Italians of Southern Austria, the Serbo-Croates and Slovenes, the Roumanians, the Bulgarians, the Greeks and the Armenians. Whilst the victory of the Entente would satisfy at least partially the claims of all these peoples, numbering in round figures 30,000,000, a victory for Germany, Austria and Turkey would make it almost impossible to satisfy any of them, with the small exception of the Roumanians in Bessarabia. I do not quite agree with Mr. Buxton about the real value of the autonomy, which is to be granted to Poland by the grace of Russia; he may learn from Finland what a miserable, tottering, precarious thing autonomy in this case is likely to be. But there are in the argument some omissions admitted by Mr. Buxton himself. Firstly he does not take any account of the Irish, "on the assumption, that some sort of self-expression", as he says, "is now assured to them". But the Home-Rule promised, but as yet not conceded to Ireland, has for half a century been

in force in every province of Austria proper, in Hungary, in Croatia and Slavonia, and during the last ten years in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He strikes out India, Egypt and Persia, as he maintains that to place them on a level with the European nationalities would be to misrepresent the importance and belittle the force of the latter. Yet I do not see the reason of his preference for the European nationalities, at least with respect to the Ukrainians (Ruthenes), Roumanians, Serbo-Croates, or Armenians. Take for instance the Serbs and Croates, who are perhaps the most remarkable of the nations just mentioned. I have no hostile sentiments against them, I have learnt their difficult language, I admire their wonderful heroic songs, I have thoroughly perused the very considerable juridical and historical works of Bogišić and Novakovič, who are quoted in my books. However I do not consider the Arabs, Persians and Hindus to be so very backward, as that one cannot take them into account, being peoples of ancient lineage and venerable culture, to whom we are indebted for some of the greatest achievements in religion, art, fiction and philosophy. They stay of course a little behind at present, as they have not yet quite recovered from the continuous invasions of predatory tribes in past centuries and the very barbarous government of their own. But, as far as I see, they are not lower than the Serbs, Bulgarians, Roumanians and Armenians became under the same conditions and they show their marvelous vitality by improving from day to day. The only thing I can admit is, that the men-

tion of those peoples is somewhat embarrassing for a fervent adherent of the Alliance. But it is not an argument for anybody who impartially seeks for a just and radical solution of the national problem wherever it may arise, without reference to momentary political interest. Not speaking of justice, we cannot easily exaggerate the troubles the world would be exposed to, by shutting our ears to the claims of hundreds of millions of people, forming a large portion of civilised mankind, with a great past and probably greater prospects in time to come.

Besides the nations Mr. Buxton declares to have omitted there are many he does not mention at all; the Greeks of Cyprus, the Italians in Corsica, Savoy and Nice (about 600.000), the Slovenes in Italy (about 400.000), the Albanians and numerous peoples in Russia. With respect to Russia he supposes her indeed to be, in so far as subjected white nationalities are concerned, only an offender to the extent of about one seventh of her population. But I am at a loss to know on what information this statement is founded. According to the figures at my disposal, based on the census in 1898, there were then in European Russia 55.600.000 Great Russians, 22.400.000 Ukrainians (Ruthenes), 5.900.000 White-Russians, 7.900.000 Poles, 1.750.000 Lithuanians, 1.400.000 Letts, 1.000.000 Esths, 1.700.000 Germans, 1.100.000 Roumanians, 1.200.000 Armenians, 5.000.000 Jews, 1.300.000 Katwels, 1.350.000 Caucasians, 1.200.000 other Indo-Europeans. Hence there are in European Russia

alone, against 55,600,000 of the ruling race, 51,400,000 of other white nationalities. The real proportion in both Asiatic and European is 43% of the ruling race to 57% of oppressed races of different origin, not only of white population. However, not the proportion is important, but absolute figures. The clear fact is that in Russia more than 50,000,000 of white nationalities are oppressed, nearly twice as many as Mr. Buxton supposes will get their liberty at the hands of the Allies.

Moreover out of the 30,000,000 for whose liberty, on the assumption of Mr. Buxton, the Allies are fighting, he must allow for the Armenians, who are not in any way intended to gain independence, but only to change Turkey, the present master, for Russia, not less cruel and ruthless than the former, and likewise for the Servians and Croatians in the South of Austria who in case of the victory of the Allies will only be brought under the yoke of Italy. There are too, some nations free at present which the Allies, though on another account fighting nationality, are going to subdue to a foreign yoke: the Albanians who will be assigned partly to Serbia, partly to Italy, the Persians who will be subjugated by Russia and England, the Bulgarians in Macedonia, who will be apportioned to Serbia.

Thus there are great objections to be made to Mr. Buxton's calculation of 30,000,000 freed people. He obtains this number simply by fully disregarding all the nations which the Allies enslave and only considering those which are under the control of the

Central Powers. It is impossible to find a system, more convenient to the aims of the Allies, but unhappily it has not forwarded the solution of the problem. It would be more favourable for the universal peace, if the Allies should first put their own house in order. Charity begins at home! The more so, as Mr. Buxton greatly underrates the extent of generosity we too could afford at the expense of other people. Should we be able, as Mr. Buxton assumes, to dictate the terms, we would not in any way stand second to the Allies, we would not limit ourselves to giving Bessarabia to Roumania and granting autonomy to Poland and Finland, of course a real one, not the poor, weak thing they will perhaps get from Russia through the charity of the Allies. We would over and above bestow freedom on the Ukrainians, White-Russians, Germans, Lithuanians, Jews, Caucasians, Tartars of Russia, on the Irish, Indians, Persians and Egyptians now under English rule, on the Italians in France and some nations in French colonies. This amounts to 600.000.000 people. That is a record which could hardly be beaten by the Allies.

Thus, the number of nations which would obtain liberty by the victory of the Central Powers considerably surpasses those whose freedom the Allies are fighting for, and were it only from the statistical point of view, Mr. Buxton lays so much stress upon, it is the triumph of the Central Powers we should be obliged to desire. But also important to examine the kind of oppression the nations are to be released from. Here I shall only consider my own country, Austria, which is placed by

Mr. Buxton on the same level as Turkey. That is rather hard on her. The plain truth is, that there is a gap between the oppression in Austria and the oppression which is practised in the realms of the Allies, France, Great-Britain and especially Russia, that the nations exposed to pretended oppression in Austria really enjoy full liberty and consequently are far better off than any oppressed people throughout the whole world. This may seem a striking statement. But the opinions current about Austria are derived from the accounts of the reactionary government of the first half of the 19th. Century. They have always been somewhat misrepresented and are quite out of date at the present time. The government of Metternich and his followers was extremely oppressive, not only with regard to nationalities, but to any popular movement: however it is not fair to look upon it as a mortal sin perpetrated in Austria alone, as the same things happened throughout the whole continent, and to a certain degree in Great Britain also. Even the strong measures taken after the suppression of the Hungarian revolution have their equals in those which the British government had taken at the same time in order to put down the Irish rebellion and Indian mutiny, and ill-famed Baron Haynau did not more high-handed things than the Marquis of Wellesley and General Lake; moreover all these measures of restraint cannot be compared to the atrocities committed by Russia during and after the Polish insurrections of 1831 and 1863. And then, whilst political persecution ceased entirely in Austria after 1861, the

leaders of the revolutionary movement were pardoned by the Emperor and some of them became high officers and ministers in Austria, such as Ziemiałkowski and Andrassy, Ireland was ruled for thirty years after the union (1801) for three years out of every four by laws giving extraordinary power to the government, and in the following fifty years (1835—1885) there were only three years without coercion laws and crime acts. And only with the greatest reluctance can I bear any comparison with the course taken by Austria even in her worst times, and that, which has been taken quite recently by Russia! *We* never had pogroms, we never set hooligans of the Black Hundred on innocent people, we never imprisoned thousands on slight suspicion, without judgment for years, we have never driven hundreds of thousands to Siberia by way of administration, who have not been sentenced by the Courts. Such things as the cruel persecution of the Greek Catholics by the Government of Cholm in Russia reported by a British consul-general in the seventies of the past century have not occurred for centuries in Austria. We are not speaking of things that happened in Russia 70 or 80 years ago, but of the style of government prevailing just before this war. They are reported in very interesting English books, published twenty or thirty years ago, before the Entente became a cordial one. Afterwards the books ceased to appear, but the things continued. About the trials of political prisoners in Russia we get very good information in the famous novel by Count Tolstoi: „The Resurrection”.

I do not defend the system of Metternich and his followers, but I wish to do him justice. His system, though arbitrary in political matters, was nevertheless conducive to the economical welfare and protective to the lower classes, especially to the peasantry. The liberation of the soil from feudal burdens, the removal to the remains of villeiny perpetrated then, has been an excellent work and serves now as a model to the British government, for analogous measures in Ireland. We have to thank these reactionaries that the legal position of Austrian peasants of all nationalities is the best that can be imagined, and that their economical situation too is better than that in most countries of Europe, with however the exception of Galicia, where some undesirable consequences of the older Polish government continue, and of Istria and Dalmatia, formerly belonging to Venice, which have not recovered as yet from the devastations perpetrated by the then Republic. In Northern Italy there are many who remember Austrian rule and frankly admit that the administration of their country was never better since the decay of the Roman Empire. It is not sufficiently well known that the defection of Northern Italy was caused not only by national oppression, but still more by continuous and very well founded rumours which alarmed the possidenti, that the Austrian Government was going to realise the liberation of the soil in the same way as in other provinces. This salutary reform, checked by the desertion, has not been put into force in Italy up to the present day, though the incessant revolts of the

farmers (contadini) throughout the whole realm prove the want of the same. Even immediately before the war, the Milanese Avanti published a very sarcastic article comparing the situation of the working classes in Italy, „the redenti”, with the condition of those who have remained in Austria, „the irredenti”: the result is not at all favourable to the „redenti”, as they grudge the „irredenti” their schools, their superior roads, these being much better than those in Italy, the inspection of factories, the sick-relief-fund and compulsory insurance against accidents, all of which do not exist in Italy.

But the Austria of the Metternich system and of the first ten years of the reign of the late Emperor Francis Joseph is a tale of olden times: now we have to do only with Austria as it is at present! And then I am rather puzzled as to what Mr. Buxton may mean in his very clever article, by constantly speaking of Austria-Hungary. I am of opinion that anybody discussing national problems of my country should be aware, that *for that* purpose Austria-Hungary does not exist at all. Since A. D. 1867 Austria-Hungary means two independent states, united only for foreign affairs, neither of them being entitled to interfere in the interior politics of the other, and each of them going its own way as regards national questions. Here I shall not speak of Hungary: she may do that for herself. The only thing I maintain is that, with the exception of Switzerland, there is no country in the world where the treatment of nationalities is more liberal than in

Austria proper. What I am going to allege in order to prove this statement, has of course nothing to do with events after the outbreak of the present war, the state of mind and situation of society being abnormal ever since, not only in Austria, but everywhere else as well. Nobody will judge of the political institutions in Great Britain by the execution of Sir Roger Casement, nor the immolation of Skeffington events which I should have considered impossible before August 1914.

Mr. Buxton asserts however, that the members of the races subject to Austria, do not, as a rule, suffer very seriously if they are content to live a quiet life apart from all public interests, and take no part in any political movements: but if they *do*, then, it is a matter of police spies, perpetual interference, the suppression of newspapers, the imprisonment of editors and thinkers and political leaders, the repression of any manifestations, however slight they might be, of any distinctly national flags, meetings, exhibitions, processions, pamphlets, songs and books.

I do not charge this paragraph with exaggeration, the only thing I assert is, that not one statement therein has any relation to positive facts. The figures I shall give in order to rebut it I have obtained from a very reliable source and as I cannot give the name of the person, I shall take all the responsibility myself. And now I am going to discuss Mr. Buxton's assertion, word for word.

Police spies: Political spying is a branch of the State Department of the Police Office subject to the Home Office. For years the excessive activity of the

State Department has been the cause of numerous complaints in Parliament and in the Press: that has been during the state of emergency when Count Taaffe's Cabinet was endowed with extraordinary power for the repression of socialistic and anarchistic movements. But this state of "emergency" had nothing to do in any way with the nationalities and national parties, who, moreover, always supported Count Taaffe's government! Since the dismissal of Count Taaffe I have remarked nothing about State Police and political spies in Austria. Neither in the press nor in the representative bodies nor in private life could I perceive any trace of their doings, and but for the entry (in the budget for State Police) amounting to 240000 Austrian Crowns (242000 frcs) in 1913, I should not have known of its existence. The insignificance of this sum proves moreover of what slight importance State Police has been in latter times. According to what I could learn, the chief task of the State Police is, to obtain information about political personages and to provide for the protection of the Emperor, the Imperial Family and foreign sovereigns visiting Austria, against attacks, attempts on their lives and molestations.

Perpetual interference: As Mr. Buxton does not explain what he means by this general term, it is impossible to take up a position against this charge. Yet from what I have to say in the following paragraphs it can be easily inferred that political interference of State Offices in Austria is strictly limited by law and does not exceed legal boundaries.

Suppression of newspapers : Apart from martial law and the "state of emergency", when government is provided with extraordinary powers, the suppression of newspapers is impossible in Austria. There have been plenty of very radical nationalistic newspapers appearing for the last thirty or forty years without interruption.

Imprisonment of editors : As press offences must be tried by jury, except in the case of a state of siege or emergency, and as the jury usually finds for the accused, there have been for years almost no press prosecutions. I except of course private actions for libel, as that of Dr. Friedjung, since these do not depend on the government. But here I feel obliged to make a qualification. Though our old-fashioned Press Law makes the imprisonment of editors almost impossible, it permits some sort of prohibition of circulation of single numbers of a newspaper infringing penal law, which involves confiscation. Confiscation takes place on the proposition of the Attorney-General, but must be notified by the Court. The Attorney-General informs the editor which article is inadmissible. From this moment the number is not allowed to be sold or delivered to the subscribers, but other copies of the same number may appear, omitting the said article. It is rather an irksome and unpleasant procedure and many attempts have been made to amend this law, unhappily without the desired effect. Yet one cannot call this measure exactly oppressive, the only disagreeable consequence for the editor being the costs of a new edition of the censured number. Oppo-

sition papers often try to provoke confiscation which draws general attention to them and gives them an air of firmness. The socialistic, anarchistic, radical and antireligious papers are those which suffer most from confiscation; but papers of every description are occasionally exposed to it. Therefore it would not be fair to impute these confiscations as a rule to the politics of the government. All the more so, as the Attorney-General must act promptly, on his own responsibility, in order to prevent these prohibited copies being sold or delivered to the subscribers, and therefore cannot wait the orders of the government. To give an idea of the extent of confiscation with respect to the national movement in Austria, I read the official gazette "Wiener Zeitung" of 1913 where the decrees of confiscation are published every day. I found there, that of the leading nationalistic papers: *Slowo Polskie* had not been confiscated once, *Narodni Listy* once, *Slovenski Narod* five times, *Slovenec*, once, *Il Piccolo* five times, *Piccolo della sera* once, during the year 1913, which was the very critical year of the Balkan war. These confiscations are not overwhelming.

The imprisonment of thinkers and political leaders :
The last political trial of Bohemian nationalists took place in 1893, twenty four years ago, against a secret society, *Omladina*, for high treason and conspiracy. Later, in A. D. 1909, there were two political proceedings in Bohemia without any connection with the nationalistic movement: against national-socialistic antimilitarists, and against freethinkers because of a

congress in honour of the Spanish revolutionist Ferrer, who had been executed in Spain. Only the political author Wilhelm Börner, of German nationality, has been sentenced to 14 days hard labour. In 1913 Mario Sterle, an Italian of Trieste, was sentenced for riot and lese-majesté to 5 years hard labour; after 7 months of imprisonment he obtained the Emperor's pardon and left for Italy. In 1912 Simon Bednasiuk and some other russophiles were tried in Lemberg for high treason and riot. They were all acquitted by the jury. These are all the political trials in Austria against nationalists within the last twenty four years. I beg leave to ask Mr. Buxton whether there have not been considerably more trials in the British Empire against Irish, Indian, Egyptian nationalists? Not to mention Russia at all.

National flag: Flags in national colours, until the war broke out, were permitted in Austria without any restriction: one could see them put on the tops of the national clubs and sport club houses almost in every city, they were carried in national processions, and on occasions of festivities the streets usually were flagged. In Bukovina, every Sunday, thousands of peasants strolled about wearing belts in the national tricolour.

Meetings: There are two sorts of meetings distinguished in Austria, as they depend on different legal conditions: meetings, political or non-political, arranged by some temporary committee, and meetings arranged by political or non-political societies. In 1913 in Bohemia only, we had 2948 political

and about 2200 non-political meetings. 76 Political meetings were interdicted by the police and 17 dissolved because of disturbances.

Besides these in 1913 in Bohemia, there were 475 Czechish political societies and 3468 non-political clubs and associations. The Czechish sport-clubs "Sokol" have formed a concern; „Česka obec sokolska" comprising 1234 clubs and 142 smaller groups with 106000 male members. There existed in 1913 two great Bohemian school associations to maintain private Bohemian popular schools in all countries, where the legal conditions of Bohemian public schools were not in existence; Ustredni matice Školskà and Komensky association. The Komensky-association supplies the means for a Bohemian popular school in Vienna.

Almost in every Italian city in Austria there exists a club called: circolo. Austrian Italians have a large school-association, Lega nazionale, which works actively in Trieste, Gorizia, Gradisca, Dalmatia and Tyrol.

The Slovenes have several political societies and about 2500 non-political associations, in the first rank the Cyrill- and Method-Association with 220 branch associations, 103 sportclubs, the literary association Druzba sv. Mohorja in Klagenfurt with 80.000 members, Slovenska Matica with 8000 members, Leonova Druzba with 3000 members.

In Galicia, before the war, there were 25 Polish, 30 Ukrainish and 5 Jewish political societies and about 20.000 non-political associations.

In 1913 the political societies in Bohemia arranged 2148 meetings, the non-political associations about 26500 meetings, 6 of the political meetings were prohibited, 2 dissolved on account of disturbances.

Exhibitions: In 1890—1914 in Bohemia there were about 250 Bohemian exhibitions, 155 of them of greater importance. The most remarkable were the General Bohemian Exhibition in Prague, 1891, in commemoration of the first Bohemian exhibition in 1791, with about 2400.000 visitors, the Ethnographical Exhibition in Prague in 1895 with about 2000.000 visitors, the Exhibition of the Chambers of Commerce in Prague in 1898 with 2500.000 visitors. Three exhibitions deserve mention, as they were not limited to Bohemia, nor to the Bohemian people, but have comprised slavic nations outside Austria with the obvious aim of a panslavistic manifestation; yet they were not hindered in any way: the Exhibition of Servian Women's National Art in Prague 1910, the Bulgarian Women's Ethnographical Exhibition in 1911 in Prague; the Exhibition of Slavic Childrens Toys in Turnau 1908.

Processions: National processions are a matter of course in Austria; visitors to Austrian towns and cities have very often the opportunity of seeing them. The police, as a rule, only interfere in order to make arrangements to avoid disturbances and other inconveniences; especially in cities with mixed population, directing the processions through quarters

where the nationality of the inhabitants corresponds with that of those participating in the procession.

Pamphlets, books, songs: I am not able to guess what Mr. Buxton means by this. There appear in every language which is spoken in Austria, every year several thousands of pamphlets and books, nationalistic, anti-nationalistic or of quite indifferent tendency, without meeting any hindrance on the part of the State offices. Some few of them are confiscated, mostly for irreligious tendencies or immorality; the proportion may be two or three of every thousand that appear; can it be said, in the face of these circumstances, that any manifestation distinctly national is extinguished by such insignificant annoyance. It is the same thing regarding songs. There exist in Austria innumerable philharmonic associations cultivating national songs. During the season, almost every day there is a concert in which national songs are sung, and even military music is played to Austrian national melodies.

When martial law is proclaimed or government is endowed with extraordinary power (state of emergency) some constitutional rights are put out of force and the jury may be suspended by Act of Parliament. This has happened since the beginning of the constitutional era mostly on account of disturbances, strikes, lockouts, and has lasted usually a few weeks: only the state of emergency, granted by Parliament in 1884 to the Prime Minister Count Taaffe, occasioned by the rising of the socialistic and anarchistic

movement, continued for several years. Yet it in no way affected nationalities.

Perhaps I may suggest, that the paragraph of Mr. Buxton's article above does not give a correct idea of the national problem in Austria. Now I shall try to draw some outlines of the real situation. The main basis of the law of nationalities in Austria is the Art. XIX of the Act of the General Rights of the Citizen, forming a part of our constitution. Its wording is: "All nations of the realm enjoy the same rights and every nation has the indefeasible right to conserve and cultivate its language and nationality. All languages spoken in the country (*landesübliche Sprachen*) have the same rights in school, State offices and public life. In the provinces inhabited by different nations the establishments of public instruction must be organized so as to bestow on each nation the means of education in its own language, without being forced to learn another language of the province. (*Landessprache*).

The provisions of this article are not at all empty words. Two Courts, both in Vienna, the Constitutional Court (*Reichsgericht*) and the Administrative Court (*Verwaltungsgerichtshof*) contrroll its execution. I am going to quote some of their decisions: "As the wording of the statute contrasts the language of the province (*Landessprache*) on the one side and the language in use in the country (*landesübliche Sprache*) on the other side, it is enough, in order to make the provisions of this article applicable, that the language may be spoken by a sufficiently great number of inha-

bitants of a district, a city or a village. Therefore the Bohemian language is qualified as a language in use in Lower Austria, being spoken in some villages of that province."

"Every private person has the right to present claims and petitions to the tribunals and State-offices in the language in use in the country, to be heard and to get decisions in the same language. The language of the local government representatives depends on their resolution, but they are obliged to issue their decisions in the language used in the petitions".

"A sport-club cannot be forbidden to have a flag in the colours of its nationality, in order to manifest the nationality of its members".

There are several rather amusing decisions of the Constitutional and Administrative Court, concerning the question, whether a borough is allowed to have street-tablets in both or only in one language in use in the country.

Thus, it is beyond any doubt that everything the Art. II of the minimum-program requires, is enforced by constitutional law and put in practice by the Courts and official Boards in Austria. Many political rights several British subjects are still looking for, have been granted to all Austrian nationalities more than half a century ago. The basis of the Austrian constitutional law is the autonomy of the provinces. Besides the Central Parliament, the Reichsrat in Vienna, there is a diet in every province. The provinces are ruled by the governor residing in the chief town (Statthalter or Landespräsident), the districts

by presidents (Bezirkshauptmann). But there are besides these state officers under the central government, for the autonomous administration in every province, a standing committee of the diet (Landesausschuss), for local administration there are borough- and village councils (Gemeinderat, Gemeirdeausschuss).

Hence there exists general home-rule to a very large extent.

The franchise for the House of Commons (Abgeordnetenhaus) is based on the universal suffrage; but the electoral constituencies have been arranged so as to give to every nationality a representative on a medium basis in proportion to its numerical force and its share in taxation. Hence 38000 Italians 40000 Germans, 46000 Roumanians, 50000 Slovenes, 52000 Poles, 55000 Serbs and Croates, 55000 Bohemians, 102000 Ukrainians are represented by one member. In proportion to the number the Italians are the best off, the Ukrainians the worst off, the Germans have the second place. But with reference to taxation the Germans who pay 63.4% of the total sum have less than half of the House (45.11%) whilst the Bohemians and the Poles who pay 19.2% and 7% have 23.24% and 16.59% of the House. The Serbs and Croates, the Italians and Roumanians who pay 10.4% altogether compose 18.25% of the House. There are in the House 233 German members against 259 Slavs, 19 Italians and 5 Roumanians.

In order to appreciate fully the Austrian system of national "oppression", adjusting the representation

of nationalities to their number and the amount of taxation, we may compare the structure of the Austrian House to the Russian Duma. Though the ruling race in Russia is not half of the entire population it has 339 members out of 440. The Ukrainians being 20% of the population, have 28 members, the White-Russians 5%, have 10 members, the remaining nationalities, about one third of the population have 43 members out of 440.

The same principles of an adequate representation of nationalities are observed in the provincial administration and legislation. As the population of Lower and Upper Austria, Salzburg and Vorarlberg is exclusively German, in Styria and Carinthia the German population prevails, the corresponding diets and standing committees are exclusively or prevailingly German. In the other provinces the Germans are in the minority, consequently they are out-voted in the diets and standing committees; only in the small province of Silesia the Germans have the majority of the diet and standing committee, though they form a minority in the country, because the franchise favours the towns where Germans predominate. In Moravia a very interesting experiment has been made to shape a system of national franchise, each elector being bound to be entered in a national register. The German and Bohemian electors vote separately, the Germans return 40, the Bohemians 63 members. This system has been adopted in the Bukovina also, and will probably be accepted in other provinces with mixed populations.

I have already remarked that, according to the provisions of the constitutional law controlled by the constitutional and the Administrative Court, in every city, town or village must be an elementary school affording opportunity of instruction in their mother tongue where a certain number of children (usually 40) are speaking one of the languages being in use in the country there. That is for primary education. The higher education is imparted in two kinds of schools, called *Gymnasium* and *Realschule*. There are a sufficient number of secondary-schools in all provinces to teach any language in use in the country. I give the total figures of the schools of both descriptions: There are 106 Bohemian, 87 Polish, 13 Italian, 70 Ukrainian, 8 Serbo-Croate, 1 Slovenian, *Gymnasiums* and *Realschools*. Besides, there is one *Gymnasium* where instruction is in German, Italian and Slovenian, 5 schools with German and Slovenian, 1 German and Italian, 1 German and Bohemian, 2 Polish and Ukrainian, 4 German and Roumanian, 2 German and Ukrainian and 1 German and Polish. Of the secondary schools, in 1914, 350 were supported by the State; 33 by provinces, 22 by cities, 24 by ecclesiastical institutions and 31 by private resources. Thus the secondary-schools are kept in the main by public funds, and chiefly by the State. In some Italian papers however, I have found pointed out that the cost of the *Gymnasiums* of Trieste are supplied by the city of Trieste. This is quite true: however the State has always been ready to take on the school on its own account, but the city has been

unwilling, as it preferred, by paying the expenses, to retain its influence on the appointment of teachers.

The Poles have two universities in Lemberg and Cracow, and one polytechnical school in Lemberg, the Czechs a university in Prague and two polytechnical schools in Prague and Brünn. There exists a Bohemian Academy of Arts in Prague, and a Polish Academy of Arts in Cracow! The Bohemian Academy of Arts is a private foundation but the costs are partly defrayed by the State. The Polish Academy is supported by the State.

And here we may again compare the national oppression in Austria to the national liberty in Russia, just now fighting for nationality in rank and file with the other Allies. In Russia no officer or clerk officiates in any other language than that of the ruling race. In all elementary schools supported by the State, teaching is exclusively in Russian, likewise there exist throughout the whole realm only Russian secondary schools and universities. Books in Ukrainian (Little-Russian language) have until recently not been permitted to be printed; even the commemoration festivities for the famous Ukrainian poet Shewtchenko have been forbidden by the government. The press is submitted to a very strict censorship, liberty of association does not exist at all. There is strong evidence that the Russian government intends to maintain this system of national liberty after the war, as the first thing they did after the invasion of Eastern Galicia was the suppression of the Polish and Ukrainian language in the elementary and secondary schools which has been replaced by Russian. The "Perpetual

interference, the suppression of newspapers, the imprisonment of editors, the extinguishing of every manifestation, however slight it may be, of anything distinctly national, flags, meetings, exhibitions, processions, pamphlets, songs and books", all these things Mr. Buxton reproaches Austria with are put into practice in the Russian „Eldorado of national liberty" to such a degree, that one is tempted to suppose Mr. Buxton has, when writing the paragraph quoted above, mistaken Russia for Austria. As constitutional rights are out of questions in Russia, there is of course no constitutional Court, to apply to as in calumniated Austria. I seriously wonder that Mr. Buxton having been all his life an ardent champion of nationality, has no objection to this Russian conception of national liberty.

I do not know of any State except Switzerland, that has done more in order to satisfy the national claims than Austria. Yet I don't dispute that there is much discontent in my country. Perhaps not more than elsewhere. I remember the saying of Rochefort under the regime of Napoleon III: "Il y a en France trente-six millions de sujets, non comptant les sujets du mécontentement". Really in every country there are many more objects of discontent than subjects. And they exist of necessity in Austria, as she is — and here I agree with Mr. Buxton — a very composite structure, formed by many nations and therefore much more difficult to manage than any other state. But that is not an argument against her existence. Evolution mainly consists in the growing of complex beings out of simple

ones, and they mark a higher degree of development, though they are in a more unstable equilibrium than the latter. There are in Austria, owing to her very intricate structure, centrifugal and centripetal forces working therein. The centrifugal forces are more striking to the eyes of our enemies, as man always sees best what suits his wishes. But the centripetal forces, which pass as a rule unnoticed by them, have carried the Empire through the ages, helped it to out-live the Turkish invasion, long wars with France and Russia, and perhaps the hardest of all tests, the Napoleonic distress. Austria grew more consolidated after every trial, and it will be the same after the present war.

As the mistakes about the nationalities in Austria have certainly been one of the main causes of the war, I shall go on to mention some traits about them, so as to enlighten the minds of foreign observers. In the Austrian Parliament we have a sort of two-party-system. The one party which may be considered in a very wide sense indeed, as liberal, is mostly German; the other, to a certain extent, as conservative, is in the main slavic, the members of the two Latin races, the Italians and Roumanians, fluctuating between. Yet the striking point is not the question of German or Slavic preponderance, but the constitution of the Empire, the former party aiming at a strongly centralistic government, the latter claiming a greater autonomy for the provinces. Therefore the lines are not clear, the conservative and catholic Germans — conservative and catholic in German Austria usually meaning the same thing — leaning mostly towards the autonomists,

some Slaves, especially the Ukrainians, rank with the centralists. Some thirty years ago the centralists were headed by a Roumanian deputy, Professor Tomaszczuk. In the first twenty years of the constitutional era (since A. D. 1861) the Parliament was paramountly centralistic, thereafter autonomistic tendencies prevailed. The government was unstable; but the centralistic cabinets have been supported not only by Germans, but by the Ukrainians, Italians, Roumanians, very often by the Croates and for a long time by the Poles, whereas autonomistic cabinets were backed by Germans of conservative catholic bent. Both centralistic and autonomistic cabinets have a Polish minister since 1879 for the affairs of Galicia (Landsmannminister) and since the ascendancy of Count Taaffe mostly a second Polish and in the last years a Czechish Landsmannminister (minister for the affairs of Bohemia). As the autonomists are with few exceptions (since 1879) at the helm, there has been much ado from time to time on the side of the Germans in Parliament and newspapers about the oppression of German nationality, and the same difficulties have arisen on the part of the autonomists when for a time centralists carried on the government. But really it may be inferred from the simple fact, that the cabinet and the majority of Parliament always consisted of members of both races, that the grievance of nationalities never could have been very serious.

The amount of liberty, nationalities enjoy in Austria, may be judged by the question in issue in the parliamentary struggles between Germans and Slavs.

It is the interior language of the state offices (innere Amtssprache). Besides the rights granted by the constitution to any petitioner or memorialiser, to be heard and to get a decree in the language used in his own country, moreover besides the right of the autonomous boards, to settle the language of their proceedings, it is desired especially by the Slavs, that the language of the interior acts and debates of the courts and state offices in Vienna must conform to the language in which they have been addressed. What they want, has been carried out in South-Tyrol for a long time by statute, where the interior language is Italian, and in Galicia by order in council, where the language is Polish. In these two countries the difficulties have not been excessive, as they are nearly homogenous; indeed in the east of Galicia Ukrainians live mixed with Poles, but Polish is understood by them without any difficulty whatsoever. In other provinces, especially in those where the population of some districts only is mixed, a similar regulation would have the result, that every judge and every officer would be obliged to know at least two languages, even when officiating only in parts of the country, where the population was quite homogenous. Thus the judges and the officers of the exclusively German districts of Bohemia would be bound to speak Bohemian and the intercourse between tribunals and offices in different parts of the realm and the correspondence with the central offices in Vienna in eight languages would become very troublesome. Moreover it is considered by German centralists that the maintenance

of the German interior language is indispensable for the preservation of the State. Whatever it may be, it is characteristic of the oppression of the nationalities practised in Austria, that the interior language is the chief point of the national problem, now in discussion. I would like to ask Mr. Buxton whether in any of the states of the Allies a question of this description has ever been even started? I suppose, that nationalities there have more serious grievances.

Then, what is the cause of the troubles which make Austria appear abroad a realm in agony (empire mourant), a curse for the nations under her sway? But first the basis of this statement must be reduced to due proportions. Since the constitutional era there have been in Austria no seditions, no uproars, no insurrections for national reasons; the disturbances were in the main parliamentary quarrels, they consisted chiefly in a prolonged parliamentary obstruction of the same description as has been met with in the parliaments of homogenous and highly consolidated states also, in Great Britain, in France, in Germany. In Austria they have been aggravated by the extreme inefficiency of parliamentary order of business. However the first obstructionists have not been the oppressed Slavs, but the Germans, the pretended oppressors. The German member, Lecher, delivered the famous obstructionistic speech of thirty-six hours. The simple fact is, that occasionally parliamentary leaders in Austria, as in other countries, considered it necessary to exaggerate parliamentary struggles

in order to support their claims. No state has gone to ruin for not more than that.

Among the malcontents there is a set, which must be taken more seriously. These are people brought up in our gymnasiums and universities. They are very discontented with politics in Austria, but I think they would be discontented to the same degree in any other state. I hope to find full understanding in England, as there exists the same state of things in India and Egypt. In Sir B. W. Holderness' book "Peoples and problems of India", I recently read a paragraph quoted on occasion of discussing the causes of the vehement outbreak of hostility to British rule in India, in a paper by Mr. Chasol: "The rapid expansion of an educational system that has developed far in excess of the immediate purpose for which it was originally introduced, was bound to result in a great deal of disappointment for the vast number of Indians who regarded it merely as an avenue to government employment. Things have in fact reached such a pitch, that our educational system is now turning out year by year a semi-educated proletariat which is not only unemployed, but in many cases almost unemployable."

We see a very similar effect of a mistaken educational system in Austria, about which I wrote a great deal in some papers ten years ago. In Austria especially Slavs and Italians (and likewise the Jews) are very fond of the Gymnasiums and of juridical studies, in order to get access to government appointments. The Slavic and Italian parts of Austria have gymnasi-

siums in abundance, the two polish universities and the Bohemian University are overcrowded, and even the German universities are frequented by a great number of Slavs and Italians. Unhappily the education in gymnasiums and in the law schools is extremely unpractical, too lofty and too refined for any other purpose than that of the civil service in state-offices. But it is quite impossible to find places in our tribunals and boards of state administration for the crowds our gymnasiums and law schools pour out every year. Now we go so far as to employ doctors of law in post- and railway offices. The situation in several Slavic and Italian countries shows many analogies with the results from similar causes in Italy and Spain. These people as they cannot get any state-employment and are not able to do useful work in any other way, become editors of newspapers without subscribers, political advocates without clients, political leaders, discontented themselves with the State which cannot supply them with the means of existence, they are obliged to sow discontentment, as in Egypt and India, in order to live. When going abroad, not always of their own free will, and very often for quite unpolitical reasons, of course they continue their business of political agitation, the only thing which supplies them with a means of existence, and these are they who have formed this atmosphere of hostility towards Austria, by their information, which is not in any way unbiassed. Up to the present day, the importance of national excitement caused by fanatical outcasts, half of whom are not capable of doing any-

thing, the other half capable of doing everything, has not been fully realised in Austria. We abstained from keeping them within bounds, looking upon the display of their political activity only as an offshoot of the freedom of thought and national liberty granted by the constitution. Since the beginning of the war, trials before the Courts martial have brought full evidence that the political agitation pursued by them, has been coloured with high treason, and munificently paid from abroad, especially by Russia and Italy.

Whatever it may be now, the political discontent in Austria has been limited to the thin crust, issued from secondary schools and universities, saturated by historical and classical ideology and to a great extent paid for by our enemies. The bulk of the population, the peasants and the working classes do not partake in the irredentistic propaganda and the effect on the masses has been rather poor. That has been proved by the events since the war. They have been extremely disappointing for the Entente. Two disturbed Bohemian regiments incited by Russian mercenaries, a few thousand traitors in Galicia, some thousand deserters and runaways of different descriptions in South Tyrol: that is the sum total. With that we can compare the prowess of the army in general and the patriotism of the population even in those countries which most of us considered somewhat unreliable before the war. When rumours began to spread in December 1914 that Austria-Hungary was going to surrender South Tyrol to

Italy, petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of Italian peasants were heaped up in the Foreign Office, to the surprise of many Austrians, up till then persuaded that the country was completely infected by irredentism. The said Bohemian regiments were likewise reinstated as soon as certain unreliable elements had been removed. As I know my country sufficiently well, I was not in any way perplexed by this issue. Professional politicians are very apt to judge of the situation by the success they find at their club or coffee-house. They easily forget that only a small portion of the population is gathered around them there, and always the same people. Since the beginning of the war the great masses began to turn the scales, and Austrian sentiment, deeply rooted in their hearts, rose to the surface. Now it appears that the upper classes, devoted to the nationalistic propaganda, disregarding history and tradition and the great advantages given to their nation by the incorporation with Austria, have entirely lost connexion with the bulk of the population.

Nevertheless, I do not pass the fact by, that the discontentment is not entirely deprived of a real basis. We still want a solution of the national problem on principle, except in Galicia, where however it has been done in a very defective way, by order in council, entirely neglecting the claims of the Ukrainians. What we have done as yet, is like symptomatic treatment, which removes some of the symptoms but does not cure the disease. Single concessions only give occasion to ask for more; in this way we will never

end. The only practical way is to settle the whole of the national question by Act of Parliament, once and for all. This end is without any doubt within our reach; we are now already so far that, as one of the most prominent Czechish leaders said, only a thin sheet of paper separates us from this result. Yet it is not an easy task to settle the claims of a great number of nationalities, living intermixed and in a very different degree of cultural and economical development, by the provisions of a statute. Such a thing has never been tried anywhere else before, and there exists no pattern to work by. There have been numerous proposals offered. The most ingenious seems to me, to be that which has been drawn up by two social democratic politicians Otto Bauer and Dr. Karl Renner, member of Parliament, founded on the principle of personality, which has a good chance of being accepted by the nationalities in question. The scheme consists in forming national communities in every district, where a sufficient number of persons of the same nationality are to be found, and to entrust them with the care of national interests in the same way as religious communities have to provide for the religious needs of their dependents. Thus schools, universities, academies, art galleries etc. in fact all that national culture is concerned with, will be entrusted to the care of national communities whilst for the other branches of administration the same authorities will remain competent as hitherto. A very important point in this scheme is, that the money required for national expenses would not be supplied any longer by the State but would be raised by each nation from

its constituents. The state supplies, as they were always taken from the common fund, and burdened the situation of other nationalities, were a perpetual source of conflict. The idea of Dr. Renner has attracted a great deal of attention in this country and has found many adherents. I hope it may be realised soon after the war. In the mean time I am going to submit it to the Anti-Oorlog-Raad. It is in my opinion much more likely to solve the national problem, not only Austria but in other countries with mixed populations. Some very valuable suggestions are to be found also in Dr. Renners pamphlet "Die Nation als Rechtsidee".

Perhaps I may suggest that no one is able to do full justice to the national conflicts in the East of Europe, who takes the measure of the situation as it is at present in the west of our continent, and in the United States. In the West great states exist along with corresponding great homogenous nationalities, and this congruity largely contributes to the common welfare. Yet if we look as far back in history as the Middle Ages, we find that where the English, French, German, Italian and Spanish nations are now spread over very numerous nationalities, greatly differing in origin, language and culture, had lived in and called these places their own, though only linked to them, if linked at all, by feudal bands. Some remainders of the original state of things are even visible unto the present day. I have only to hint at the Welsh and Scotch Highlanders in Great Britain, the Bretons, the Flemish, the Italians, the Provençals, the Basques in France, the Slavic enclosures so frequent in Prussia,

Mecklenburg, Oldenburg and Saxony, of the regionalism so strong in Italy and Spain. Nobody will however think of the English, French, Italian, Spanish or German nations as artificial things, shaped by conquest, treaties or marriage settlements, which only offered the occasion of their origin. These nations really are the effect of the geographical configuration that is to say, not only of the territorial coherence and natural boundaries, but of the total economical, political and social conditions it involves. Those are thus the natural forces which brought forth the small nations, peoples of the dawn of history, in the long run of the ages to amalgamate into great nationalities, forming the very national basis of the great states in the west. And it has not been in any way by quiet, subconscious proceedings that great nations were once created; every page in history shows the sanguinary feuds, usually disguised as religious or feudal wars, the outward strikes and inner convulsions, which pressed the final coalescence. In the East of Europe the situation is at this present moment very much like that of the West in the early Middle Ages: there are great numbers of small nations, most of them enemies because of susceptibilities and idiosyncrasies not easily to be understood by an outsider. Yet they form two or three great states, Austria proper, Hungary, Russia, whilst the fourth, Turkey, has, as we know, almost been abolished. The cause of the fall of Turkey is on a different line. Here the situation was nearly the same as in Spain under the Arab yoke, and the result will probably be very similar: after the foreign in-

vaders had been driven out, the small national states then originated, slowly combined into Spain, a great and powerful state on a geographical basis. In Russia and Austria-Hungary there is no foreign invader to be got rid of, and the process of coalescence rooted in geographical conditions is just now going on. From the geographical point of view, which has always been decisive hitherto, Austria is much better off than Russia, being much more homogenous and integrated. It is a desultory and superficial point of view, to see in Austria-Hungary but a monarchy artificially patched together. The famous Bohemian historian Palacky, whom Bohemians call the father of their nation, showed a considerably deeper insight into matters, when he said, Austria ought to be made if she did not already exist. What we politically call Austria-Hungary is geographically the valley of the Danube and the necessity of a close political union of the lands lying there, which has been thoroughly demonstrated by Dr. Renner in the learned book: *Oestreichs Erneuerung*, and the very clever pamphlet by Professor Hanslick: *Oestreich*. Austria-Hungary is geographically almost a stronghold, as is seen in the present war. The provinces are separated from without by chains of mountains, and open towards the interior, knit by water-roads and joined together by innumerable cultural and economical links. If the Allies should succeed in dismembering Austria-Hungary those bits would soon come together again, as they are much too dependent one on the other and too small as to be able to subsist on their

own resources. The same natural elements which have formed the French nation out of the Gauls, Romans, Franks, Burgonds, Allemans, Normans, Celts coming from Ireland to Britany, some Arabs in the South Provence, Basques, Flemish; the same natural elements which have shaped the British nation out of the aborigines of Great Britain, the Scotch, the Welsh, the Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Normans, are still at work in Austria-Hungary, and the only inference we are able safely to make from the national struggles between her boundaries is, that the development, begun here some centuries later than in other countries, is still far from being carried through. She will not suffer the fate of Turkey, for the obvious reason, that there is no foreign invader to be expelled. Her national conflicts are in the main family quarrels.

At the present moment there exists indeed no Austrian nationality in the sense for instance, that English nationality is spoken of, as comprising English, Scotch, Welsh and some colonials, (but neither Irish nor colonial people of foreign or non-European extraction.) Nevertheless the Austrian nation is growing steadily beneath our eyes and this process is much more advanced at present in Austria than it was in England in the 18th. century, when after the battle of Culloden in 1746, the English government did its utmost to extinguish "any manifestations, however slight they may be, of any distinctly national spirit" in Scotland, and the Welsh showed no trace of national feeling at all. Poles, Bohemians, Serbs and German Austrians do not feel as strangers to one another.

Their mutual relationship is quite different to that they have to the Russian Poles, to the Germans, Italians or Serbs coming from Germany, Italy and Serbia. When Austrians of different races meet in a foreign country, they greet each other as countrymen. An Austrian medical man, who has lived for the most of his life in Italy, where he but very seldom met Austrians, and since the beginning of the war has practised in a Vienna military hospital, said to me some months ago: "Now I see the national foundation of Austria. In my hospital I have people from all parts of the realm, and yet they have the same turn of mind, the same manners, the same distinctive mark, and in the main the same national sympathies and aversions. There is no doubt about it, that there exists something like an Austrian nation." We may hope, that it will not take more than half a century, to form an Austrian nation not less consolidated than the English or French nations at the present time.

And this issue, the maintenance of Austria, is the only issue desirable for the future of our culture and the peace of Europe. The consequence following the dismemberment of Austria, together with the downfall of Germany, would in the first place bring about the omnipotence of Russia. It was well known and felt in France in the time of Napoleon and up to 1870, as well as shown by the British policy until the end of the past century, that Russia is the only danger menacing the freedom and civilisation of Europe! This danger can be looked at from various points of view. Were we but to mention the national problem, none of the small

states of the valley of the Danube nor those of the Balkan could remain independent in the face of the notorious Russian greed and voracity, and the national oppression under Russian sway would be quite a different thing to the present Austrian rule.

Besides it has been completely overlooked by Mr. Buxton and likewise by the other politicians of the Allies, that the small states, which are to be formed out of the flesh and bones of Austria by the Allies, are very far from being homogenous, and will present no fewer difficulties than those, existing now in Austria. There are in Austria some provinces with an exclusively or prevailing German population, which in this case would probably join Germany; Lower and Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg, North Tyrol, Vorarlberg. But in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, Germans are on an average one third of the population, in Galicia the Poles and Ukrainians are at a rate of four to three, and there are still nearly 900,000 Jews; in the Bukovina Ukrainians and Roumanians counterbalance each other, whilst German speaking Jews form more than third of the population. In Carniola there is a considerable German minority, in Trieste a Slovenian minority; in Gorizia and Gradisca the Slovenes and Italians are at the rate of 16 to 9, in Istria the Serbs, Croates and Slovenes on the one side, the Italians on the other, are in round figures 225,000 compared with 145,000, in Dalmatia there are 600,000 Serbs and Croates for 18,000 Italians. Then, almost every province in Austria which is not exclusively German will present the same dif-

difficulties as Austria on the whole, the more so as the minorities there will not be backed by Austrian constitutional law, granting equal rights to every nationality. This affects in the first place the Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia forming a third of the population. The Allies are going to ascribe the east of Galicia to Russia, but, since in that country there are a great many Polish enclosures among a prevalently Ukrainian population and a great number of Jews too, their situation will of course be deplorable. Gorizia and Gradisca, Istria, Dalmatia, are to be allotted by the Allies to Italy, though the population is Slavic, but what will become of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes? As human nature does not change in consequence of political regulations, the political rights of the minority will certainly very soon be violated, and the Allies will scarcely risk another war to protect them; England and France did not do so in favour of Poland in 1831, though her autonomy has been granted by them in the Vienna Congress Act 1815; nor more recently for the sake of Finland when her constitution was twice broken up by Alexander III and Nicolas II. Hence the difficulties which will arise when the Entente will have executed its designs, will be the same as those existing at present, or probably still greater.

The forming of a great Serbian Realm, as intended by the Allies would raise another set of inextricable difficulties. It is a serious mistake to speak of a Serbo-Croatian nation, as Mr. Buxton does. There exists only a Serbo-Croatian language, but a Serbo-Croatian

nation does not exist at all. Austrian official statistics are very confusing indeed, as they give only the numbers in regard to the mother-tongue, completely neglecting the nationality. This is very unfeasible on behalf of the Jews, who generally speak German in Austria or any other language in the country, yet a great number of them, especially in Galicia and the Bukovina desire to be considered a nation of their own. It is much more confusing to Serbians and Croatians who speak the same language, but in reality are two distinct nations. They differ firstly in religion, the Serbians being Greek-orthodox, the Croatians Roman Catholics, besides this in their customs, manners, their build etc. and they usually live on bad terms with each other. There is a small Croatian party who desire fusion with the Servians, but the great majority of the Croatian nation are strongly opposed to it, and the Serbo-Croatian realm will probably go to pieces on account of disturbances the day after it has been founded.

After the war Austria will remain what she has been for centuries; a detached portion of European culture striving against the East; as she fought for centuries against Turkish invaders, so she is doing the same now against Russian reckless despotism. Her task has been to bring the different nations under her sway to western civilisation and to give them in return the best government and the best administration they could possibly have, in any case a better one than they could afford to give themselves. This is a fact. It is admitted even by Italian, Servian,

and Roumanian irredentists, that their brethren beyond the borders are usually better off than those who enjoy nominal liberty.

Austria has enough. She does not want any territorial extension. But we may ask whether the expansion of Austria would not be desirable for other reasons, for the sake of the peoples gathered under Habsburg's sceptre. It is not liberty they are deprived of, it is unity. Austria-Hungary's frontiers cut through the abodes of some of her nations, of Poles, Ukrainians, Servians, Roumanians, and that is their chief grievance. There is a great party among these nations pleading for a union with Austria in order to get national unity, and I am informed a plebiscite in Serbia, Roumania and in Poland would have a good chance to fall into favour with Austria according to Art. I of the minimum-program. Perhaps I may suggest, that the solution of the national problem in Austria and in the Balkans is to be gained by similar means.

Austria and Great Britain have no constrasting interests. Their tendencies run for the great part side by side, and but for this they could live in perfect harmony. Up to this there never has been war between the two empires. The great Austrian statesman, whose name I have the honour to bear (Prince Eugen of Savoy, in the XVII. century) was the first to discern the importance of an alliance with England.

His policy proved to be right, the alliance stood the proof of the long wars during the reign of the Emperor Charles VI, when Prince Eugen fought abreast with Marlborough, hereafter the wars during the French

revolution and the Napoleonic era. The present conflict is the first Austria ever had with England, it is the result of a very strange situation, which probably will never occur again. The best Austrians hope, that Great Britain will resume her former politics and that the two nations destined to live on good terms will soon agree again. British statesmen will soon perceive that a consolidated Austria is a better safeguard of European welfare than a dozen small states in the valley of the Danube and in the Balkans, which after the disintegration of Austria and the downfall of Germany would mean nothing but Russian Satrapy.

P. S. This article was written before the Russian Revolution. I forbear to make the alterations required by this historical event the more as its consequences cannot be appreciated at this moment.

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